

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00

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O P 181825 Z MAY 73

FM USDEL SALT TWO II

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1990

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USDEL SALT TWO II 0197

EXDIS/ SALT

DOD HANDLE AS SPECAT FOR SECDEF

E. O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON' S STATEMENT OF MAY 18, 1973

REF: USDEL SALT TWO II 1096

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE MAY 18, 1973 SALT MEETING.

MR. MINISTER:

I

THE US SIDE HAS REFERRED TO THREE AGREEMENTS, ONE ALREADY IN
FORCE AND TWO YET TO BE CONCLUDED. THESE ARE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT
OF CERTAIN MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS, A PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT FREEZING ICBM MRVS/ MIRVS,
AND A PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO REPLACE
BOTH THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT. I BELIEVE
IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE SIDES HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE
INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG THESE THREE AGREEMENTS. THEREFORE,
TODAY
I WILL DISCUSS THESE INTERRELATIONSHIPS AS WE ON THE US SIDE SEE
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THEM.

THE INTERIM AGREEMENT PROVIDES TEMPORARY LIMITATIONS ON SOME, BUT NOT ALL, STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IT ENTERED INTO FORCE ON OCTOBER 3, 1972 AND WILL REMAIN IN FORCE FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE YEARS, UNLESS REPLACED EARLIER BY AN AGREEMENT ON MORE COMPLETE MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

ON MAY 11, THE US PROPOSED THE PROMPT CONCLUSION OF A PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT FREEZING ICBM MRVS/ MIRVS. THIS PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WOULD PLACE CONSTRAINTS ON ICBM MRVS/ MIRVS AND WOULD MEANWHILE PROVIDE THE SIDES THE TIME NECESSARY TO WORK OUT PROVISIONS IN THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS IN LONG- TERM CONTEXT. THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WOULD BE SEPARATE FROM THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, WOULD BE OF INDEFINITE DURATION, AND WOULD CONTINUE IN FORCE UNTIL REPLACED BY THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT.

TO SUMMARIZE OUR VIEW OF THE MATTER, THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT WOULD REPLACE BOTH THE EXISTING INTERIM AGREEMENT AND THE PROPOSED PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT AND WOULD STAND AS THE END PRODUCT OF OUR JOINT LABORS DURING SALT TWO.

II

ON MAY 8 TH THE US SET FORTH A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT THIS PROPOSAL REPRESENTS NO CHANGE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL US PRINCIPLE THAT A PERMANENT AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO REPLACE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT MUST PROVIDE FOR ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN CENTRAL SYSTEMS -- ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS. AS I STATED ON MARCH 13 TH, " THERE MAY BE VARIOUS APPROACHES TO OUR CURRENT TASK, BUT WHATEVER APPROACH THAT IS PURSUED MUST RESULT IN ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE."

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF THE ICBM FORCES OF THE TWO SIDES WHICH ARE ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE ARE THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF ICBM LAUNCHERS ON EACH SIDE, THE THROW- WEIGHT OF THE MISSILES WHICH CAN BE LAUNCHED FROM THOSE LAUNCHERS, AND WHETHER OR NOT THESE MISSILES CAN BE EQUIPPED WITH MRVS/ MIRVS. THE APPROACH WHICH WE OUTLINED IN OUR MARCH 13 TH AND SUBSEQUENT RELATED STATEMENTS WAS
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BASED ON THE APPROACH THAT EACH SIDE WOULD BE FREE TO EQUIP ITS ICBMS WITH MRVS/ MIRVS. WITH RESPECT TO ICBM FORCES, IT THEREFORE PROPOSED THAT ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN THESE FORCES BE ACHIEVED BY PROVIDING FOR EQUAL NUMBERS OF ICBM LAUNCHERS AND EQUAL AGGREGATE

THROW- WEITH FOR THE MISSILES WHICH COULD BE LAUNCHED FROM THOSE LAUNCHERS. THESE TWO SUB- CEILINGS WERE PART OF A PROPOSAL CALLING FOR AN EQUAL CEILING ON THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS. IN OUR OPINION, THIS APPROACH WOULD ACHIEVE ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN CENTRAL SYSTEMS.

THE US PROPOSAL OF MAY 8 TH INVOLVES AN ALTERNATE APPROACH TO ACHIEVING ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN WHICH QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON ICBMS, IN PARTICULAR MRV/ MIRV CONSTRAINTS, WOULD BE INCLUDED. ON MAY 11 TH WE PUT FORWARD THE US PROPOSAL FOR A PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT ON MRV/ MIRV CONSTRAINTS.

WE BELIEVE THAT BOTH SIDES WILL WANT TO INCORPORATE IN THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT APPROPRIATE MEASURES ON MRVS/ MIRVS. THE ELEMENTS OF THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT REGARDING MRVS/ MIRVS COULD BE MODIFIED IN A PERMANENT AGREEMENT TO REFLECT THE DEGREE OF EQUIVALENCE IN CENTRAL SYSTEMS PROVIDED BY OTHER PROVISIONS IN THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT. IN THE EVENT THAT THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT INCORPORATES MRV/ MIRV LIMITATIONS AT LEAST AS ADEQUATE AS THOSE WE HAVE PROPOSED FOR THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE WITHOUT THE NECESSITY FOR PRECISE EQUALITY IN THE NUMBER OF ICBM LAUNCHERS AND THE THROW- WEIGHT OF THE MISSILES WHICH COULD BE LAUNCHED FROM THOSE LAUNCHERS.

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USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USDEL SALT TWO II 0197

EXDIS/ SALT

DOD HANDLE AS SPECAT FOR SECDEF

III

THE QUESTION OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH TEMPORARY PROVISIONS
CONTAINED IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND THE PROPOSED PROVISIONAL
AGREEMENT SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT
SHOULD

ALSO BE CONSIDERED. THE US HAS ALREADY MADE CLEAR ITS VIEW THAT A
PERMANENT AGREEMENT MUST ESTABLISH AN EQUAL CEILING ON THE
AGGREGATE

NUMBER OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS. TH US
BELIEVES THAT A PERMANENT AGREEMENT SHOULD INCORPORATE IN AN
APPROPRIATE WAY SOME ELEMENTS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. FOR
EXAMPLE, I AM SURE THAT BOTH SIDES WILL WANT THE PERMANENT
AGREEMENT,

AS WELL AS THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT, TO CONTAIN PROVISIONS ALONG
THE LINES OF ARTICLES IV, V AND VI AND PARAGRAPHS ONE AND THREE
OF ARTICLE VIII OF THE ITERIM AGREEMENT. IN ADDITION, A
PERMANENT AGREEMENT SHOULD INCORPORATE IN AN APPROPRIATE WASY
PROVISIONS FOR LIMITATIONS ON MODERN LARGE BALLISTIC MISSILES.
IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN CENTRAL SYSTEMS IN
THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT, THE MANNER IN WHICH THE SUBJECT MATTER
OF ARTICLES I, II AND III OF THE INTERIM AGREEMNT SHOULD BE DEALT
WITH IN THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT WILL DEPEND UPON THE ADEQUACY OF
MRV/ MIRV LIMITATIONS MUTUALLY AGREED FOR INCORPORATION IN THE
PERMANENT AGREEMENT.

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IV

I BELIEVE THE WEEKS AHEAD HOLD INTENSIVE AND PRODUCTIVE WORK
FOR OUR TWO DELEGATIONS. TO FACILITATE THIS WORK AND TO DEVELOP
A COMMON APPROACH, I BELIEVE THE SIDES SHOULD HAVE IN MIND THE
CONSIDERATIONS I HAVE PUT FORWARD THIS MORNING REGARDING THE
INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE THREE AGREEMENTS NOW INVOLVED IN
OUR NEOGTIAITONS. WE WOULD WELCOME THE VIEWS OF THE SOVIET SIDE
ON THESE CONSIDERATIONS. JOHNSON

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